1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

585 couple then put on wreaths called sammandha mālai, or wreaths establishing relationship, and the wrist threads are tied on. The bride's sister brings some rice and milk in a cup, into which the linked fingers of the bride and bridegroom are thrust. Taking up some of the rice, they put it into each other's mouths three times. After they have washed their hands, the maternal uncle or priest asks them if they have seen Aranjoti (the pole-star), and they reply in the affirmative. On the third day, presents are given to the newly-married couple, and the wrist threads are removed. Going to a stream, they perform a mimic ceremony of sowing, and scatter cotton and rice seed in two small pans made by a Toreya with
587 cow-dung. Widow remarriage is permitted among the Udayas, and a widow may marry a cousin, but not her
585 dead husband's brother. At the marriage ceremony, a priest makes a mark with sacred ashes on the foreheads of the contracting couple, and announces the fact of their union.

●428 It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that, as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the
(593) house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is
(888) the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents, and support them as long as they live, and, when they die, he continues to live in the paternal home, of which he becomes the owner."

843 A ceremony is performed in the seventh month of a
(585) woman's first pregnancy, which is important, inasmuch
(586) as it seals the marriage contract, and, after its perform-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

121	F. Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
	G. Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
	H. Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	I. Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	J. Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

592 The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always
[611] patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired
[591] state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters,
[591] married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three
[342 causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that
[362] Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a
[428 situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause
[736] of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559-560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate
[362 houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and
[593] the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

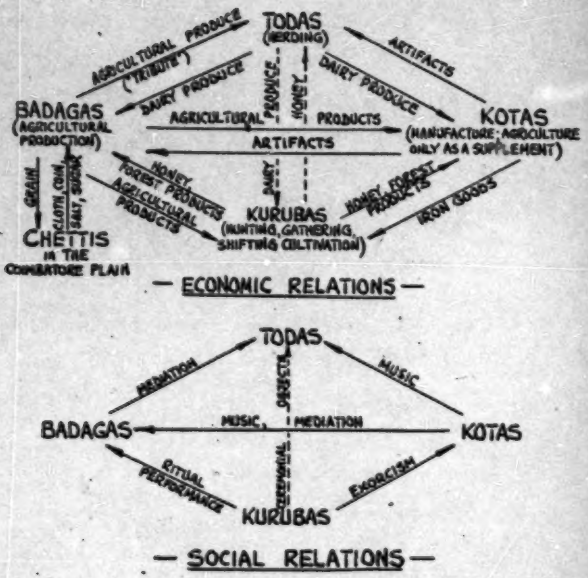

Diagram 8. Economic and social relations among the Nilgiri communities.

with the cash economy becoming almost universal among these communities and the proportion of Badagas to Todas and Kotas rising rapidly (see Appendix 2), this relationship has diminished to the point where it is today a mere skeleton of what it was prior to 1930. The breakdown is apparent in all parts of the Nilgiris although in different localities it has proceeded at differing rates depending in part on the accessibility of a bazaar.

BADAGAS AND KOTAS

The ties linking the Badagas and Kotas have always been closer and more complex than those between any other pair of Nilgiri communities, largely because the Kotas can perform a wider range of services than any other group. These inter-community ties are

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

essentially a relationship of mutual obligation which binds a specific Badaga family to a specific Kota one and are inherited on either side through the males. A Badaga can never change to a new Kota partner unless the old one agrees to it at a joint meeting of their village councils, which rarely happens. The Kota produces certain types of artifact for a Badaga, who in return gives him grain and cloth. Because of the great disparity in numbers between the Badagas and Kotas,[2] it is necessary for each Kota family to maintain such ties with perhaps fifty to 100 Badaga households. In each case, whether or not the services required are those of a woman and whether or not the initial request comes from a woman, all mediation between the two associated families is through the male heads of each.

There are in the entire Nilgiris only seven Kota villages; but these are widely and evenly dispersed, being on the average fourteen kilometers apart (and further by road). One village at Gudalu:ru is in the Wainad, on the slope west of the Nilgiri Plateau; the larger two of the indigenous political divisions each contain two villages; and the remaining two divisions of the plateau have one village each. This distribution, whether originally so planned or not,[3] results in the Kotas being conveniently accessible to all Badaga and Toda settlements; for there is not a settlement anywhere on the plateau that would be more than a morning's walk from a Kota village. Normally each Badaga village is linked with whichever Kota village happens to be closest.

The usual pattern for activating the exchange relationship is for the Badaga to request his Kota partner's *services* whenever the need arises but to order his *products* once each year; while the Kota in turn comes for a dole of clothes and foodstuffs once a year (Harkness, 1832, 78-79; Ranga, 1934, 72). There exists a general understanding that the Kota man should inquire annually of each Badaga partner what items will be required for the coming months. The Badaga then gives him a list of items, while the Badaga's wife passes on to him another list of things required from the Kota's wife. The Kota then announces that he will be returning on a specific day (generally a Monday, the weekly holiday) just before the major Kota festival of Kambattaraya (early January), and the Badaga knows that he must have gifts ready for the Kota on this occasion. On that day the Kota usually comes with his wife and children, bringing the ordered goods if they are ready. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Pandalu:ru village. This system thus parallels that of the Nilgiri Badagas but does not link up with theirs: cases cannot, for example, be referred to the paramount chief of the Badagas in Tu:ne:ri, and he does not invite Wainad Gaudas to his councils. The head of the all-Wainad council is someone noted for his justice, called the Great Headman (*doḍḍa gauda*); he is selected from any of the communes. Each commune is headed by a man termed the *jammaka:ra,* under whom there are two or three lesser headmen (*kudiare*). Both of these offices are inherited fraternally; i.e., they pass from brother to brother in order of seniority, then on to the eldest brother's eldest son, and so on. Each *kudiare* is responsible for the descendants from one particular Nilgiri division: in Kolepaḷḷi, for example, there are two such headmen because its population is descended from Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu villagers. As in the hills, a legal dispute passes up this hierarchy from the *kudiare* to the Great Headman if necessary.

These Gaudas have maintained some marriage connexions with Nilgiri Gaudas, even with families of the gentry. Several communes still intermarry with the Nilgiri Badagas of So:lu:ru; but more generally all of the communes marry endogamously or exogamously within the Wainad community. Their constituent hamlets, being single lineages, are always exogamous.[26]

There is a nineteenth-century account of trading parties of Wainad Gaudas regularly visiting the Me:kuna:ḍu village of Ke:ti (and presumably elsewhere on the plateau), bringing with them buffaloes and gold dust 'for sale' (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41).

These Gaudas had no connection with the Todas who, until the 1920s, lived on the edge of the Wainad, but some do maintain an exchange relationship with the Kotas there and also with certain Irulas and Kurumbas. The Kota partner from Gudalu:ru provides pottery as well as a pole used in Gauda funerals, to which he should also bring Kota musicians. He helps, too, with house building (Ranga, 1934, 26). In return he gets an occasional buffalo. Irulas and Kurumbas may also provide music for the funerals. Like the Panias they are valued as basket-makers but have no reputation for sorcery here as they do elsewhere. The Kurumba watchman institution is not encountered in the Wainad.

Gauda landowners have a special relationship with the Pania tribe, some of whom were their praedial slaves.[27] As if to justify this situation some Wainad natives claim the Panias originated as African slaves who escaped from two British ships in Calicut

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Headmen and Administrative Boundaries

631 As we have seen, the Nilgiri Plateau is divided into four areas, Todana:ḍu, Me:kuna:ḍu, Poraṅga:ḍu and Kundena:ḍu.[1] In each of these divisions are several communes,[2] each made up of from one to forty contiguous villages. These villages may belong to any one of the seven plateau phratries, and one of the villages, not necessarily the largest or even of the highest phratry, has permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire commune. Its headman is also head[3] of the entire commune; under him are the headmen[4] of all the other villages. The divisional headman[5] is (643) a hereditary position in one family of a chosen village. From time immemorial the village headman of Tu:ne:ri, in Todana:ḍu, has been paramount chief[6] of the entire Badaga community.[7] Because of the extent of their duties the divisional headmen and the paramount chief do not also serve as headmen at all other levels. (428) All of these offices are normally inherited patrilineally, save when the eldest son is deemed unfit and another relative is chosen by the council to replace him.

692 At each of these levels—village, commune, division and entire (693) community—the relevant headman can call together a council (*manta*) of respected men to judge disputes. Every case has to pass up this hierarchy of councils, so that only when lower councils have failed to solve them satisfactorily do the most complicated land and marriage disputes and murder cases reach the paramount council. A dissatisfied disputant may appeal a council's decision to the next higher level of council, but high-level headmen check that a case brought to them has first passed through the lower-level councils. Badaga law has the unusual provision that if a higher-level headman considers the judgment given at a lower level to be in error he can fine the headman responsible. This was in the past an effective check against favouritism.

Procedure

692 In a dispute between two parties from the same village their 693 headman called a council of the heads of each household, one of whom would be his deputy (*gaundike*). Where litigants came from (622) neighbouring villages the case would first be heard by the commune council, which was made up of all its village headmen.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

French-supported film factory and a protein products factory, supposedly to improve farm productivity and employ the pool of Badaga graduates.

MODERN LAWS

Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the modernization of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we need review only briefly.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on Badagas since there was never any interdict against remarriage of their widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, has always been ignored by Badagas, and the women have never challenged their traditional treatment: the property is only inherited by males. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, receive due recognition from Badagas: marriages are still not always monogamous and are sometimes contracted with grooms below eighteen or brides below fifteen. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples and are normally served with separate 'untouchable' glasses when they drink at a village teashop. People in Nilgiri villages may not be ignorant of such legislation, but there certainly remains some resistance to the idea of integrating the official system of law and administration into Badaga culture. Even more resistance can be found among the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas.

NOTES

1. Meaning, respectively, Toda division, Western division, Europeans' division (from *feraṅgi*, 'Franks') and peak division (from Tamil *kunṛu*, 'mount'). Why one division should have been named after Europeans is not clear, unless it be a reference to seventeenth-century Jesuits who may have entered this area from Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Me:ṭṭupa:ḷaya, where they were then active; Société des Missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. xii, 234-235. The name is certainly ancient. Grigg, 1880, 13, n. 1, and Macleane, 1893, 678, derive this name however from Tamil *periya Raṅga*, 'great god Raṅga,' who is worshipped in this area; see above, p. 127. Throughout the nineteenth century these territorial divisions were adopted by British administrators, but in 1882 they were superceded by the three *taluks* (Gudalur, Ootacamund, Coonoor) that are still recognized today.

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

178 But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

121 Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

101 121 1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

242 428 2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

121 161 4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

231 796 5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

175 (439) 6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

(648) (436) (437) 7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

285 618 8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

137 824

4: Hockings B-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

763 Although the Badagas do not write wills, a dying man may make
428 a benefactory statement, each wish in it being called a *sa:la*
775 ("debt"). It is believed that if these wishes are not followed the spirit of the dead man will trouble some of his relatives. It does not possess the wrongdoer as a ghost but puts a curse on him. Since Badagas do not believe in a further reincarnation the spirit of the dead man will be able to go to heaven if he has done enough good deeds in this life. If his dying wishes are not followed, however, he will have to remain in limbo (*eḍe lo:ka*, "the middle place"). This dismal prospect should weigh heavily on his relatives.

763 In Badaga belief a person does not die when he gives out his last
764 breath, but rather when he takes in his last breath. This breath is believed to remain in his body for the next ten days, and enables the corpse to hear and be aware of everything that is going on around it, even though the dead person cannot open the eyes, speak, or move. Thus people commonly speak to a corpse during
764 the funeral. For most Badaga phratries this ceremony involves cre-
615 mation one or two days later, on ground several hundred meters outside the hamlet. Lingayats and children are instead buried at that place, and nowadays poor widows of various phratries may have to be buried because cremation has become quite costly (Noble and Noble 1965).

762 9.6. Suicide is by no means uncommon among the Badagas, particularly among young married women, and it is most usually accomplished by swallowing opium. Failing that, the juice from oleander

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

Table 4. Death per thousand of the entire Rural Population of the Nilgiri Plateau, 1921-1930

164
165

	Cholera	Small-pox	Plague	Fever	Dysentery/ Diarhoea	Other Causes	Total 1,000 People
Rural Coonoor taluk (1921-25)	0.20	0.30	0.10	10.20	6.10	9.40	26.40
Ditto (1926-30)	0.01	0.08	0.05	11.47	5.81	10.90	28.32
Rural Ootacamund taluk (1921-25)	0.80	0.50	0.30	21.90	4.60	10.90	38.30
Ditto (1926-30)	0.03	0.14	0.24	16.50	4.96	11.30	33.17

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

CHAPTER II

THE BADAGAS IN NILGIRI SOCIETY

The Interdependence of Nilgiri Communities

Until about the year 1913 the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the 19th Century, from the first lengthy description of the Badagas (Keys 1812) until Father Tignous' account (1911), there seems to have been no essential chan in the organization of this complex relationship; but after the First World War th Badagas tended to withdraw more and more from the obligations and privileges which had traditionally been theirs. What then were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Each of the four groups was linked with each of the others through patrilineally inherited partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with traditional goods and services which supplemented their own economic production, and also symbolized their social interrelationship through ritual interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grains; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs, and Todas grew nothing whatsoev Thus the Badagas were obliged to dole out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas

621 arises. The headman of each chief hamlet is called "village headman", and is
632 responsible for all hamlets in his "village". In each of the four divisions the head-
631 man of one particular "village" is also divisional headman. In Todanad, further-
more, the headman of Tuneri hamlet and "village" — a Badaga — is not only divisional headman of Todanad as well, but in addition is "President" of the Nilgiris (i.e. Chief of all Badagas). Similarly, the headman of Balakola hamlet is not only headman of Merkunad division, but is also Vice-President of the Nilgiris. (The terms "president" and "vice-president" have been used here as loose translations of the complicated Badagu terms, and do not reflect any British influence on the local political organization.) For any judgment at the supreme level, both the President and the Vice-President have to take part in the council.

Except under unusual circumstances, including incompetence, these
[428] offices are hereditary at all levels, and are passed from father to eldest son. The
[627] village and divisional boundaries are all inflexible; although before the British land
[648] settlement (the authentication of land holdings, made during the 1880's), neighbor-
ing divisions occasionally staked the solution of a boundary dispute on the results of a tug-of-war between mixed teams of Badagas, Todas and Kotas from the two divisions involved.

Traditionally the headman has two kinds of duty to perform: he must take
622 charge of the organization of any festivals and public ceremonies in his hamlet or
632 village, and he must try to settle disputes. Let us consider each of these duties in turn.

Some of the annual festivals are celebrated separately in each hamlet, others are celebrated by a "village" as an entirety. In the first case a hamlet headman would be in charge, and in the second the "village" headman would be.

632 When a festival has to be organized that only concerns perhaps one of the phratries
(615) resident in a "village", the relevant hamlets call together their own multi-hamlet committee to handle the matter without calling upon the "village" headman to organize the celebration. It is only for festivals that concern nearly all of the hamlets that he will take charge of the organization. No festivals are celebrated
619 796 jointly by a division, or by the whole Nilgiri population, largely because the distances to be traveled are too great and the number of participants would be unmanageably large. Funerals are always treated as public ceremonies, and weddings quite
796 often are. Other life-cycle ceremonies can be treated as public ones, but very
(621) rarely are. In any case, when a life-cycle ceremony is treated as a public celebration, it is only celebrated in the hamlet of the people most closely concerned. Personal ceremonies are not celebrated at the "village" or any higher level. (This does not of course preclude inviting visitors from other "villagers" or divisions.)

623 The headman does not make the arrangements for these various celebra-
(622) tions of his own accord. His hamlet generally has a council for settling disputes, and also a festival committee consisting of the priests and a few elderly men. The latter not only organize festivals, but occasionally may plan to build a new temple or propitiate an uncooperative deity. (Arrangements for life-cycle ceremonies, unlike public festivals, are mainly in the hands of the family concerned.) The elders on the hamlet council are generally different individuals than those on the
(428) (562) festival committee; this is a convenient division of the labor involved. But in either case the positions are quite often hereditary, and are never held by women. The
(888) elders are typically the older males of all lineages represented in a hamlet; it is they who are in the best position to enforce council decisions among all of their

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles
away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation,
there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued tempora·· forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore min
on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other
and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
361 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-west-
erly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door
or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement
place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
796
535

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 123]

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM30 Badaga AM30

5. Adoption and Inheritance

Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

B: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

TABLE 1
Badaga House Ownership

423
562

	Adult males	Adult females
Owns no home, or shares part of one with other relatives	61.8%	72.3%
Owns 1 house	18.9%	13.4%
Owns 2 houses	6.6%	3.4%
Owns 3 houses	3.0%	
Owns 4 houses	2.7%	4.2%
Owns 5-9 houses		0.8%
Owns 10-29 houses	0.3%	0.8%
"Owns 30 or more houses"/d.k.	6,6%	5.0%
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

the men, a fact that is explained by the presence of some uncared-for widows in the sample, and also some unmarried daughters who did not feel like saying they "owned" their fathers' houses.

If a well-to-do man has built a subsidiary house somewhere, that one can be inherited by his eldest son. Failing that, the family home which is inherited and thenceforth owned by the youngest son may still be partitioned between his brothers. They would then be expected to give some rent or property to him in return. 428●

Property is impartible until the owner's death, and then land is to be divided equally between his male heirs. The agreement on partition of the land has to be written down and signed by the beneficiaries. Each gets a registration document *(patta)* from the state government, attested by the village accountant. For partition of other moveable property no documentation is called for: the beneficiaries simply agree to the division in the presence of the headman and some village council members. Occasionally a sick old man may choose to arrange the division amongst his sons while he is still alive. (423) (763)

If a man should happen to die when his wife is pregnant, his property will not be divided until after the delivery; and if a son is born, he too will become one of the inheritors. Thus a young widow will be watched by her husband's relatives for a month after her bereavement to see that she menstruates. They then declare that she is not pregnant, thereby ensuring that she does not afterwards try to pass off an illegitimate son as an heir (602) (841)

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
[622] insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
[623] man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to his son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
[428] sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
[837] in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the
597 household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
[425] property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
[136] brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
(425) their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense
(623) for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale kuːru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF